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Our programme.

The publication of "Allied Poland" which we undertake, has a serious aim; it intends to draw closer the bonds which for centuries, united us Poles with the great nations of the West.

The Allied Powers have, in consequence of their victories, come in contact with us, and by sending their missions, they do their best to penetrate into our political and social life, so as to get to know better our economical needs, and also our wishes and just desires concerning our frontiers.

Poland, which was divided into three parts, has recovered its freedom after 150 years of servitude, and as the work of its reconstruction is our sole and continual pursuit, we have every reason to expect that our resuscitated fatherland will be as strong and great as it was once before.

In consequence, we consider it our duty to publish at short intervals a summary of the principal articles from our newspapers, just to inform the foreign Missions of our hopes, fears, joys and anxieties.

It is scarce four months since the breakdown of the Central Powers, and we already possess a lawful government, and a parliament elected by universal suffrage, which has unanimously approved of Joseph Piłsudski as Head of the State.

In spite of incontestable difficulties, it would be out of place to entertain any doubts about our future.

The formation of our Army is rather slow; but, having enough material in men, we have all reasons to hope that, with the help of the Allied Powers, which can easily provide us with arms, ammunitions, clothing and boots. all of which we lack for the moment, we shall surely be able to keep order at home, and also protect our frontiers.

As far as frontiers go, we only claim what is due to us, and what we absolutely require, so as to be able to live in peace with our neighbours, without being compelled to be in any economical dependence on them.

We shall have to consider as well the question of agricultural reform, as also all the problems of mercantile and financial economics.

These will be the principal points with which we shall have to deal. The Jewish question will also have to be taken into consideration; and we are ready to declare, already at the very outset, that we of course intend to solve it in conformity with all the notions of modern civilization.

We will do our best to discuss all these questions with the most strict impartiality, and shall also try to enable the reader to get acquainted with the opinions of the different political parties, by reporting the various discussions of our Parliament.

Last but not least, we do hope, as it is our most fervent wish, that "Allied Poland" should assist the hard work of the Allied Powers' missions; and at the same time we express to them our deepest gratitude for their endeavours to reach a just and equitable solution of the Polish problem, together with the reconstruction of Europe on a new and more solid basis.

Cracow, March 1919.

Tadeusz Stryjeński.

About the Conference in Posen.

A German delegation is at present staying in our town to debate with the mission of the Allies the question of a provisional frontier, a neutral zone, and some other points tending to the cessation of Polish-German hostilities. Though the Berlin Government has accepted the new conditions of armistice, the fighting has not ceased for one moment on our front, because the German "Heimatschutz" will not respect the conditions clearly laid down by the Coalition.

That the Germans would not agree immediately and to such an extent to the demands of the Coalition was no secret to anybody who knows the perfidious German character, and who is aware of the weakness of the Berlin Government in general, and especially towards the unmanageable and savage bands of the "Heimatschutz" which were created by that very Government.

Our newspapers, when discussing the conditions of the armistice, showed their satisfaction that the Coalition had at last settled something positive concerning us; but they had no illusions, and knew that we might be obliged to compel respect of those conditions by very tangible arguments. Events have proved they were right. The Germans

have not yet been reconciled to the idea of losing their Polish provinces, as is evident by utterances of Hindenburg, who recently expressed his conviction that the Coalition is mistaken, if it believes in the possibility of uniting these districts with Poland. They must belong either to the Germans or to the Bolsheviks. *Tertium non datur*.

Expressing this astonishing opinion, Hindenburg refers to his knowledge of Eastern Affairs in general and of Polish affairs in particular. For us, who know these circumstances better than Hindenburg, his opinion appears almost grotesquely ridiculous. One does not think it possible that a man of such mark should have the audacity of uttering such thoughtless prophecies; and we are inclined to believe we have to do with a very clumsy forgery.

At all events, it is a matter of fact that the Germans, though combating in every way that Bolshevism which is growing upon them, sympathise with it as soon as it shows itself amongst their neighbours, because they expect to get thence great and favourable results for themselves.

The German newspapers continually repeat the menace of Bolshevism, and they continually use it as a bugbear. There are even German politicians who really would be capable to open the gates of their own country to Bolshevism, if they were sure that it would extend itself through the whole world and set it on fire (as they hope and wish), because such a conflagration might serve them to "roast their own goose."

At all events, the observer is surprised at this strange sympathy with Bolshevism and the active succour given to this movement by the Germans everywhere outside their own country.

This Poland experienced, first in the times of the German occupation, and now in East Galicia, where the Ukrainians, with a cynism well befitting their boorish nature, broke the conventions concluded by the interference of the Commission of the Entente. The Ukrainians again continue the cruel bombardment of the unhappy city of Lemberg, and they reck little that through so disloyal an act they set themselves against the whole power of the Coalition. unable to brook that its pledged word of honour should be set at naught.

As is known. the mission of the Entente quitted Lemberg, leaving there two of their members. but without authorising them to negotiate with the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians did not even spare the train by which the members of the mission departed; they fired upon it, and wounded three of the soldiers who escorted it. Several German aviators distinguished themselves on this occasion: a very characteristic detail.

It reminds us of the former Prussian negotiations with the Ukrainians (which Mr Francis Krysiak unmasked by publishing very interesting documents on the subject), of the recent brotherhood of aims between Ukrainians, Germans and Austrians, with an Austrian Archduke at their head, and of the fact that, in the Ukrainian army, thousands of German and Austrian soldiers and officers are fighting. We suppose that we do the Germans no wrong by believing that they have been the chief instigators of this last act of Ukrainian faithlessness, until they can prove their innocence with absolute evidence. *Fecit cui prodest*. For none more than for Germans could troubles and difficulties in Poland be convenient. It was they who, together with Ruthenian Bolsheviks, prepared this concentrated attack upon hated Poland.

Tragical is our situation indeed. Hemmed round by nations, who all, not excepting the Bohemians (the Prussians of the Slav race), whom we had so much extolled, lay claim to larger or smaller portions of our land, we can only by a supreme effort save ourselves from the deluge of enemies menacing us on all sides.

We therefore must welcome with the greatest pleasure the fact that our army is to be further increased by three annual levies of troops in our province, and we must cry aloud for the Diet to set with energy about the organisation of our army, for speedy and successful action on behalf of Lemberg, so sorely threatened.

But though we suspect, not without probability, that in the Lemberg incident the rapacious German hand is at work, we must not forget that the possession of this town by the Ukrainians is in the interest of Ukrainian politics. On this point, too, are concentrated other potent interests. Besides the Ukrainians and the "Central Powers", the eyes of the Russian "Soviet" Republic are turned in the direction of Lemberg. The Bohemians, too, who violate Slovenian territory, and penetrate as far as east of the Užok, wish the Ukrainians to conquer, because they want to have a common frontier with the Ukraine, and thus, the way to the Black Sea being open, to head us off from it.

In such a situation, it is greatly in our interest that the powerful interference of the mission of the Entente should effectively restrain the German pressure on our western frontier, so that we might turn all our forces against the Ukrainians, as well as against the army of the Bolsheviks, who are sending a great expedition against us: we need therefore the army of General Haller. We have been expecting this army for a long time, and we hope that now, through the interference of the mission of the Allies, this army will come to Poland and

accomplish its proper mission of defending the frontier of our native land.

In the foreign Press, certain informations have been published, announcing that in the near future the question of the Polish frontier will be decided, especially all the question of our Western frontier. This we most heartily desire. The recent line of demarcation, enclosing only a small part of the lands of Western Poland belonging to us, leaves large parts of the country to our eternal and irreconcilable enemies: a fact which will be the source of perpetual quarrels, and a cause of unbearable vexations and persecutions on the part of the Germans against the Polish inhabitants not yet set free; and it also renders us unable to develop all our moral and physical powers, so greatly needed at this time.

Our opinion is that there should be no delay in uniting the Western land to Poland, precisely because of these possibilities of war on the Eastern frontier. This question should be settled in good time, and the organisation of these lands begun as early as possible, that we may not be forced to work at it, when our whole power and attention must be concentrated elsewhere.

However firm our faith in the good will and the power of the Coalition may be, it is notwithstanding our conviction that we shall have to bear the main burden of the Eastern task. The better and the more rationally this burden is divided, the better it will be for Europe and for us.

("Dziennik Poznański", March 8-th, 1919).

The right of Poland to the mouth of the Vistula.

By A. Chołoniewski.

The question of the boundaries of Poland is near decision, and with it, the most important point for us, namely, that of our right of way to the sea. We cannot for one moment believe that the statesmen taking part in the Peace Conference can be influenced by anti-Polish intrigues, and inflict on the ally of the Entente so grievous an injury at the threshold of its new life. Our cause is just and as clear as the day. Danzig, with a suitable length of the Baltic sea-board from east to west, belongs to Poland, as is shown by the following facts and rightful claims:

1. Our main waterway, the Vistula, as it falls into the sea, unites Danzig with Poland into one perfect geographical whole.

2. Deprived of Danzig, Poland, cut off from the sea-shore, or rather from its only natural port, and deprived of its cheapest means of communication, would be unable to secure commercial and political independence for itself, and would be locked up within its own boundaries, however extensive they may be. To our new-born State, the obtaining of this right of way to the sea is a matter of life and death.

3. The necessity of Danzig for Poland, as its only link with the rest of the world, is confirmed by the testimony of history. With far-reaching comprehension of this necessity, Poland, from the very first, always strove to acquire the neighbouring province of Pomerania, which in its turn also sought to be connected with Poland: first, when the Prince of Danzig, Mściwoj II., bequeathed his territory to the Polish Prince Przemysław (1303): and again, when the States-General of Prussia, turning to Casimir Jagiellończyk, presented their petition to be incorporated with Poland (1454).

4. From the beginning, Danzig existed as a Lecho-Pomeranian town; and the first symptoms of Germanisation date from the XIV-th century, when the Knights of the Teutonic Order slew all the native inhabitants of the town, to the number of 10.000, and put Germans in their place.

5. But the spirit of the Teuton never could take root in this old Polish city. It is sufficient to cast a glance on the abundance of Polish monuments which the people, attached to the ancient government, collected and guarded with care, to be convinced that the town is Polish and not Prussian.

6. All the great men of Danzig (the greatest are: Dantyszek, the poet; Hevelius, the astronomer; the artists Falk and Chodowiecki, Longlich, the historian), as well as the middle classes during many centuries, until the end of Polish independence, and beyond, — until the town was artificially germanised, felt themselves to be Poles, the most faithful sons of their Fatherland, even though the language they spoke was German.

7. At the time when Frederic II. taking advantage of the weakness of Poland, stretched his hand towards Danzig, the population rose as one man against the Prussian invasion, and the blood shed in the defence of its own, its true government, proves that it is, and will remain, Polish.

The preponderance of Germans in Danzig at the present day (78% Germans and Jews, 12% Poles), is the result on the one hand of a compulsory aggregation there of Germans, to whom all freedom and every privilege were granted, whilst on the other hand the Poles.

were persecuted in every way. A majority gained in such a manner cannot be a decisive factor in the fate of the town.

9. The wishes and thoughts of the numerous generations of Danzig who lived and worked there before the advent of Prussian brutality ought not to be overruled by a random collection of employees from every hole of Germany.

10. The numerous meetings in Danzig, especially the noisy influence of a swarming beurocracy and other elements unnaturally brought there for the purpose of germanisation, and united by no traditions to their accidental place of residence — cannot be regarded as the true expression of the interests and wishes of the town, whose native population, terrorised by Germany, has not dared to raise its voice in public.

11. When Prussia took possession of Danzig in the year 1793, the town, where both languages were spoken, had 50% of its population speaking Polish. As this population, of which 75% is now denationalised, submitted to germanisation on account of tyranny alone, it ought to be returned to Poland, as Polish property snatched away by force.

12. The Germans ought to suffer punishment for all the international crimes which they have committed. We cannot speak of the punishment of a criminal until he has given up what he has stolen. A theft was perpetrated by the Prussians on Poland, when they took possession of Danzig and of the rest of our former sea-board.

13. If Danzig were not assigned to us by the Peace Congress, it would mean the sanction of a robbery committed on Poland, and a reward to the Prussians for its commission. The Congress, whose aim is the renewal of the world and the punishment of international crimes, cannot do this; we say cannot, for it would stultify its own political principles, if it should acknowledge the fruits of robbery in any form.

14. The neutralisation of Danzig would be just such an acknowledgment, and a reward given to brigandage. Not only would preponderant German influence be maintained in the town, but still worse: a neutral Danzig, thriving on the commerce of Poland, and, thanks to this commerce, returning to its former wealth and splendour, would become in the course of from 30 to 50 years a German city peopled by millions, who at the first opportunity would throw off their neutrality to the advantage of Germany, and for ever cut Poland off from the Baltic.

15. Danzig belongs to Poland, as it draws its life from Polish soil. The same language unites us. Our population reaches even to the city walls.

16. To the north of Danzig a Polish race, closely massed together, occupies a long strip of the Baltic shore. After a hundred years of

tyranny exercised over them by foreign government, defending their language, nationality and ideals from Prussian power, this people desires fervently to be united to the rest of the liberated fatherland.

These facts and rights ought to weigh in the scales of the decision.

‘Głos Narodu’, March 9th, 1919.

The Czechs and the Duchy of Teschen.

The treacherous attack of the Czechs on the Polish line of defence in Silesia shews that they have resolved against all right and law, to seize this part of Polish territory for themselves. For as to nationality the Czechs have never regarded Silesian Teschen as belonging to Bohemia.

One glance through the serious periodicals that appeared before the war, such as: “Slovansky Przehlad”, “Nasza Doba” or the “Czechische Revue”, edited by the Czechs in the German tongue, is sufficient to convince any one of this. And against the arrogance of Czech claims at present, we may even quote the opinions of learned men in Bohemia, such as the well-known Bohemian philologist Lubor Niederle, professor in Prague University.

Unhappily the present moment is not favourable to the purpose of getting from serious sources the Czech opinions on the dispute between the two nations; but what we happen to have at hand shows that the Czechs know well that they are acting unjustly in seizing upon Silesian territory, acknowledged even by themselves to be Polish.

The articles written and published on this question show that the narrow strip of ground to the west of Teschen, forming scarcely $\frac{1}{6}$ of the whole principality, is inhabited by mixed nationalities. The Czechs themselves confess that, on account of the preponderance of the Poles and the smaller number of the Bohemians dwelling there, this narrow strip might afford grounds for compromise and for an understanding with the Poles; but it was never regarded, nor will it be regarded, as purely Czech.

We are in the fortunate position that, against this greed of our neighbours, we can give arguments of Czech statisticians, learned publicists, who can hardly be accused of favouring the Poles.

For example, in the October number of the Czechische Revue, 1909, Joseph Kudela, writing about the Czech-Polish dispute, proves that the Czech-Polish frontier on the southern part of Teschen was in all probability fixed, and that it is identical with the boundary of the

Frydeck district. Further, Kudela writes that the Polish population in Silesia is continually increasing, According to him, in the year 1880, the Poles formed 28.13% of the whole population, while the Bohemian population amounted in the same year to 27.36% and in 1900 to much less: only 23.72% of the population. Going into particulars, Kudela gives us some curious figures. In the district of Frystat there were, according to him, in 1900: 6,372 Czechs i. e. 10.21%, and 54,189 Poles (34.19%); in the district of Bogumin and Polish Ostrawa there were in the same year: 29,182 Czechs (46.62%), and 31,294 Poles i. e. 45.72%. In the same year, there were in Dzieńmorowice 343 Czechs, (12.14%) and 3,258 Poles (77.71%); in Male Konczyce, on the frontier of Moravia, there were 918 Czechs (27.47%) and 2,155 Poles (64.48%).

Also the Bohemian statistician, Anthony Bobacz, in his long paper, dealing with the results of the census in Austria in 1910 and printed in the periodical "Nasza Doba", edited by Professor T. G. Masaryk, (the present president of the Bohemian Republic), says that the districts of Karwin, Bogumin and Frysztat are Polish.

Kudela, writing about the Czech-Polish question in Silesia, shows that it is a question of boundaries between neighbours, and expresses the hope that it may never take the form of the disputes in similar cases between Hungarians and Germans, because the Poles and Czechs do not covet other people's possessions.

We unfortunately see that, with a changed policy, the Bohemians aspire to what is not their own, thus opening an abyss between themselves and the Poles, who love peace and quiet.

Yet more important than the two former is the opinion of the celebrated philologist and ethnographer Lubor Niederle, professor in Prague University. In his work, entitled: "Slovensky Svet", printed in the Encyclopaedia of Slovan philology, published by the Russian Academy of Science in Petrograd and afterwards reprinted in Prague, (1910), this learned man says: "The boundary between Poland and Bohemia in Silesia begins in the neighbourhood of Mount Sulawa, or at the source of the Morawka, a confluent on the right bank of the Ostrawica, and runs between the settlements on either side of the river Lucyna between the Morawka and the Stonawka (tributaries of the river Olsza) as far as the Oder at Bogumin. This line of demarcation is a source of dispute between the Poles and the Czechs: it is the so-called: "Czech-Polish question in Silesia." The hamlets between the Morawka and Stonawka are of mixed population; in some, the Poles are more numerous; in the other, the Czechs. As on both sides the school question is also mixed up with this matter. the friction is often considerable. Thank God, this friction has not yet changed into any

serious national dispute and has merely a local character. For the rest, according to statistics, the Czechs are diminishing numerically, while the Poles and Germans are increasing. As to the language that is spoken in these parts, it is mixed; it is only to the west of Ostravica that the Bohemian language really begins, although even here it is influenced by Polish“,

The opinions of these three Bohemian men of learning prove that even T. G. Masaryk, placing in the periodical edited by himself the work of Ant. Bohacz, agrees with him that the districts of Bogumin, of Frysztat and the Karwin mines are Polish; that Joseph Kudela, in his “Czechische Revue“, asserts a Polish majority in the debateble land, and lastly, that the celebrated and erudite Lubor Niederle, drawing the boundary between the Poles and the Czechs in Silesia, states the fact of the Poles having the majority over the Czechs in the western corner of Teschen; he also asserts an important fact for us, and that is that the Bohemian population decreases and the Polish is increasing.

The Czechs represent this increase of the Polish population as the result of emigration of the Polish element from Galicia, whereas it is not so by any means; quite the contrary. It is well known that the Czechs in the west of Teschen, being a wealthier element and more advanced politically than the Poles, have “Bohemianised“ many of the latter. They used the superiority of their commercial and political position in this manner; they forced the Polish workmen who depended on them to send their children to Bohemian schools, compelled them to choose Czechs for town councillors etc. The feeling of nationality beginning to grow among the Poles of the working class, the process of “Bohemianisation“ was checked, but not altogether arrested, and presently the numerical difference in the territory in dispute showed the Czech element to be decreasing.

And now, knowing well that the statistics they give cannot justify their claim, the Czechs are attempting to prevent by force the natural process of further “disbohemianisation.“

(“Kurier Warszawski“, March 8-th. 1919).

Have the Czechs no coal?

By Francis Drohniak, Civil Engineer.

The outrageous invasion of the Czechs in Silesia has called forth in Poland a general and fiery reaction of violent protest. An economic question of the greatest interest is here at stake; and it is in Paris, where the frontiers of Poland are to be definitively settled, that the defence should be carried on by means of a whole array of statistics. The basis of the whole economic future of Poland is comprised in the Silesian question, the Duchy of Teschen being for Poland a vital matter, while for the Czechs it is only a rich booty to appease the hunger of Bohemian imperialism.

At the Paris Congress, the Czechs, relying on the credulity of the Coalition on one hand, and on the other upon the ignorance of the Polish representatives touching the economic situation of Bohemia, ventured to put forward an assertion as bold as shamelessly false, viz., that the Czechs, having only lignite, must needs get bituminous coal. And this, so they say, is to be found only in the duchy of Teschen, in Silesia.

Such is the argument which the Czechs use to convince America and England of the necessity of annexing the Duchy of Teschen. We have but to take in hand a mining manual or a geological map to be able immediately to demonstrate the absolute baselessness and falsity of the Bohemian argument.

The Czechs then, averring that they have no bituminous coal, maintain their claim to lay hands on the Duchy of Teschen. The following comparison of statistical figures will answer their assertion.

In the year 1913, that is to say, in an absolutely normal year, the output of bituminous coal was, in the various Czech countries, 66,765,427 metr. cwts. together with 14,286,298 metr. cwts. of coke; viz. in Bohemia, 44,026,654 metr. cwts of bituminous coal, and 101,781 metr. cwts of coke, while Moravia produced 22,788,773 metr. cwts of bituminous coal and 14,134,517 metr. cwts of coke.

During the same period Galicia, whose population is equal to that of Bohemia, offers an output of scarcely 19,707,896 metr. cwts of bituminous coal and no coke whatever. Besides, Bohemia and Moravia can point to an output of 230,158,251 metr. cwts of lignite: so that the Bohemian coal output is 15 times greater than that of Galicia. The output of coke in the duchy of Teschen in the year 1913 amounted to 11,381,486 metr. cwts, and that of bituminous coal to 75,943,654 metr. cwts. How then, in the face of such figures, can the Czechs assert

that, possessing neither coal nor coke, they are forced to take possession of the duchy of Teschen?

To point this out more clearly, it will suffice to name only those collieries in Bohemia and Moravia, which, being worked by a great many mining establishments, have made the Bohemian coal and coke output rise to such striking figures. The coal-basin of Schatzler-Schwadowice, worked by three larger and two smaller mining establishments, furnishes bituminous coal whose caloric value is from 6,706 to 7,076 calories, coal-gas producing from 25 to 30 cub. metr. of illuminating gas per 100 kgs. of coal; also a certain amount of coal for the manufacture of coke. The output of that basin amounted in 1913 to 4,617,607 metr. cwts, and 101,781 metr. cwts of coke. The coalbasin of Kladno-Kralup-Schlan-Rahowice, which occupies a considerable region north-west of Prague, is now being worked by four larger and two smaller companies, owning a great many big first-class mines. The joint output of all these amounted in 1913 to 25,435,181 metr. cwts of bituminous coal — a greater quantity than the output of all Galicia. The coal of the above basin has a caloric value of from 5,033 to 5,716 calories, its production of illuminating gas being 27 cub. metr. per 100 kgs. of coal. Between Prague and Pilzno there lie seven smaller coal basins of bituminous coal, now worked by a series of more modest establishments in the environs of Liski, Stilec, Holoubkow, Rodnice, Miroszow and Letkow. These gave in 1913, 1,647,350 metr. cwts of bituminous coal medium quality, proper for industrial purposes. In West Bohemia we find the well-known basin of Pilsno, 35 kilom. long and 20 wide, with a surface of about 425 km. sq. containing very remarkable coal deposits. It is worked by many considerable mining companies, which in 1913 extracted 11,971,000 metr. cwts of excellent bituminous coal, giving from 6,310 to 7,200 calories, good for industrial purposes and for the manufacture of illuminating gas, of which from 32 to 35 cub. metr. were produced per 100 klg. of coal. Besides the mentioned coal districts, there are in Bohemia two smaller basins of bituminous coal and of graphite, namely, in the vicinity of Budziejowice as well as in Brandau in the Erz Mountains. In 1913, the Brandau colliery yielded 355,516 metr. cwts. of bituminous coal, with a heat value of from 7,596 to 7,667 calories. We have yet to consider the unprecedented riches of first-rate lignite in the North of Bohemia, found from Eger to Czeska Lipa, as well as in the environs of Budziejowice. and giving in 1913 the colossal output of 227,613,803 metr. cwts. This gives us the strongest conviction that the Bohemian nation, with a population of but a few millions, possesses such coal riches as suffice not only for a most highly productive industry of its own, and for output over consumption, but

that there still remains an immense quantity left for export, which will be a most important asset in the finances of the country. To all this we must yet add the immense and fertile area of bituminous coal used for the manufacture of coke in Moravia, where the west part of the Moravian-Polish-Silesian basin abounds in first-rate collieries and coke works; moreover, there are in West Moravia two coal-basins, one in the environs of Rossice, the other within the space contained between Moravia, Trzebowa, and Boskowice. The Moravian part of the Polish basin is worked by the Witkowice and Morawska Ostrawa establishments, that possess the very well organized collieries of Ludwik, Głęboki, Karolina and Salomon; also by the Northern Railway establishments in Przewóz and Morawska Ostrawa, that work the pits called Henry, George and Francis; as well as by the Austrian mining factories and foundries in Zagrzeb, Maryańskie Góry, with the shafts called Ignatius and Francis. In 1913, these establishments yielded 17,679,300 metr. cwts of bituminous coal and 13,423,055 metr. cwts of coke. The coal basin of Rosice-Ostawam, worked by five mining companies, gave 4,835,190 metr. cwts of bituminous coal and 711,462 metr. cwts of coke; while in the basin Mor-Trzebowa-Boskowice the output was 224,283 metr. cwts of bituminous coal.

The above account of the mining establishments shows clearly what arguments the Czechs are using for the present dispute in Paris. Ethnology, history, economics, all combine to prove that the Duchy of Teschen belongs to Poland, because that land is soaked with the sweat and blood of Polish workmen; because to that land, wherein from time immemorial the Polish language has resounded, the heart of peasants and workmen is so strongly bound, that it is impossible to drive them thence by force.

The whole Duchy of Teschen must return to Poland, and the only frontier possible is the Oder and the Ostrawica.

"Czas." March 3-d 1919.

A few Remarks on the Workmen's Congress.

By M. Malinowski, Socialist Member of the Diet, and Ex-minister.

As the Congress of the Workmen's Delegates' Councils is shortly to be held, I think I ought to make a few remarks concerning it, which are all the more necessary because some of our Socialist comrades in Poland have since a certain time been insufficiently critical in their attitude respecting the Communistic intrigues now carried

on in these new institutions of working men. I am especially of opinion that these Councils of Workmen's Delegates can render no real services to the working classes, unless their endeavours are to bear upon social economic questions, as also on the upraising of the intellectual level of the workers. And indeed, if these institutions are to decide on questions relating to the fundamental wants of the proletariat as such, they may be able to act normally, and to imbue these classes with the requisite Social instinct,

As soon, however, as they set to debating political problems and programmes, unity of ideas is out of the question, and unity of militant action as well. Not only just now are workmen divided on questions of up-to-date politics; they will surely remain divided for many and many a year. And if on one hand, from an economic and social standpoint, there will (it seems) always be a limit to the divergence in views and arguments between workman and workman, so that it will in any case be possible for them to act in common, we must admit that on the other hand, when a political programme or a plan of tactics is in debate, the divergence becomes extreme. It were a delusion to fancy that, even could the whole Polish race become a community of workmen, this would put an end to all difference in ideas, tendencies, and political groups. On the contrary, I assert that these differences will continue to exist in future years, and that there will always be opposed and hostile tendencies, though of course their disputes will not be carried on as now, after the fashion either of our Communists or of our National Democrats. If therefore we would have the Councils of Workmen's Delegates really do good to the working classes, they must in the first place set politics completely aside, and devote their efforts to social and economic questions, and to those concerning the education of the masses.

Besides, is not any political action common to the Polish Socialist party and the Communists quite out of the question?

The former starts with the idea of founding an independent, republican and democratic Poland, until a Socialist Republic can be established; the others, on the contrary, are in favour of union or federation of Poland with Bolshevik Russia, and of making the country dependent on the "Soviet" Government.

The aim of the Communists is not the rational building up of a democratic Polish Republic, nor the formation of proletary institutions, nor the winning of decisive influence in the other institutions at large. It is the disorganisation of everything that comes into being, even of the working men's institutions. Into these the Communists bring disorder, demagoguery, and anarchy, just as they can only bring ideas

ruinous to the solidarity of the proletariat into our workmen's minds. To spread misrule, to spread it in the name of Socialism and of the lower classes of all countries, — such is their main task, and it is in order to execute this that they put forward their motto: "Union between Poland and Russia". Even the most foolish of men, it seems, should understand that union between the Polish Republic and Russia as it is, Russia of the "Soviets", — that the thought of making Polish workmen march under the orders of sanguinary Bolsheviks, with their political police, inherited from the Czars, and with their "Commissions extraordinary", is but a fatuous dream. And this the Communist ring-leaders know well, though they continue to issue this motto, in the hope that it may serve to disseminate disorder and anarchy amongst the working masses.

Strange indeed is the attitude of certain "men of intellect", who, they say, regard themselves as Polish Socialists, and as members of the true family of revolutionary workmen, and who yet again and again come to take up the resolutions and schemes of blatant Communists. Does any of these comrades of ours think he can outdo a Communist in blatancy? No; each of these has only to put forth a wordy programme of a more and more immoderate type, or to propose the most stupendous changes and cataclysms, — all this with the most utter irresponsibility: for, should a rising take place, our comrades would presently find that the Communist babbler has hidden himself away in the cellar!

We have many a proof of the spirit of contradiction shown in the past by men of this stamp. A Polish Socialist should remember that Montwiłł, Okrzeja, and thousands of militant revolutionists, hanged by order of the Czar, fought in the Socialist ranks, whilst in the ranks of Communists there is only emptiness, humbug, and — worst of all — a continual disorganisation of the Socialist movement on behalf of the working classes. It is therefore not by words of chivalric courtesy that Polish Socialist delegates ought to answer these Communists, but by a ceaseless struggle against them, by a continual endeavour to show plainly the results of their work of anarchy. Any one acquainted with Communistic literature, in which lies and slanders are heaped by millions upon the Polish Socialist Party and on those who belong to it, must be simply astounded at the attitude adopted by some of our younger comrades towards Communists during our discussions with them. Those men who pour out filth both upon our ideal and our programme, — who slaver venom over our comrades, martyrs for the cause of working men, — are treated by certain members of our own band with the utmost indulgence and urbanity.

If a stranger should chance to hear the declamations of these Communists, he might be inclined to think them—the Social Democrats and Socialists of the Left,—to be the true and only genuine Revolutionists; them to have been the creators (in 1904) of the “fighting organisation”; the bombs thrown by them to have torn in pieces the servants and executioners of the Tsar, in 1905, 1906, and 1908; and finally, the organisation of the “workmen’s defence” against the German invasion to have been due to them! Truly, when a Polish Socialist, a Revolutionist, a man of action and of battles, has come to listen indulgently to the pratings of those bad pseudo-revolutionary Communist actors, things have come to a very strange pass.

The Polish Socialist Party had broached the idea of founding Councils of Workmen’s Delegates, so as to be able in this way to work at spreading the true spirit of Socialism throughout the proletariat with greater speed. As a means of realising the democratic régime, this work is indispensably necessary; thereby only can we realise the Socialist régime in Poland. It was to this end that the Polish Socialist Party took so strongly to the Councils of Workmen’s Delegates. As to the Communists, they only take part in them in order, as they have already so often done, to paralyse our endeavours towards the centralisation of the Social movement. In these Councils they aspire to find wherewith they may fatten their own emaciated party.

Shall I remind these gentlemen of what they quite recently were doing on behalf of the union and victory of the working classes? Shall I quote from the multitudinous articles formerly published in the “Red Flag”, and in other papers, either of the Social Democrats, or of the Socialist “Left”, in the days when those parties were still in existence? In the other publications of these parties, too, was Tsarism the supreme aim of their assaults, or was it the Polish Socialist Party, the only one that opposed its revolutionary strength to every invasion, the only one that has unweariedly struggled, as it is now struggling, for the overthrow of middle-class preponderance in Poland?

For very shame at having been unable to create anything of their own, or to find new ground on which the revolutionary struggle should take place, they have simply changed the flag of Social Democracy and of the Socialist “Left” into the Communistic flag.

These out-of-date caricatures of politicians want to play the part of historical personages and providential leaders of the working classes. Inferior imitators of Lenin and Trotsky, they think—one vying with another in the lengths to which they go—that they can save the working men by bringing them anarchy! They too, then, have given their ad-

herence to the Councils of Workmen's Delegates: not to form thereby any fresh forces to help in the struggle, but to disorganise all they can, to outrage those who wish to do good work, and to change their flag once more, after having plunged the minds of the workmen into a chaos of doubts.

In conclusion to these few remarks, I wish to say that our comrades, especially those delegates in the Workmen's Councils who represent the Polish Socialist Party, ought to realise now, — on the eve of the Congress — the ambush into which the Communists want to lead them, and refuse to be carried away by inferior organisations of the workmen's movement.

Let us remember well that in the Councils of Workmen's Delegates, these Communists are seeking exclusively to get profit for their own shop and party.

(From the Warsaw "Robotnik", March the 9-th 1919.)

The Diet.

Wishing to give our readers a succinct account, not too dry, and as impartial as possible, of the sittings of the Diet, we think we cannot do better than translate (with the exception of a few quite personal details), the "general impressions" with which the "Kurier Poranny" heads its articles.

Sitting of the 8th of March. In to-day's sitting two laws were passed; and for a third, a very important one, since it goes far to regulate certain social questions, much material was prepared. The Jewish question is always on the programme, although minds are less inflamed than at the outset. The Jewish deputies are now convinced that the whole Diet is of opinion that men of the Jewish persuasion have the same rights as other Polish citizens, and that the existence of these will be loyally recognised by the administrative powers and the people. On the other hand, neither the Diet nor the Polish nation are going to suffer any special form of privilege for the Jews.

Once convinced of this, the Jewish deputies have changed their tone with regard to the Diet. Not only Rabbi Perlmutter (who has always spoken moderately and with tact), but also Hirschhorn, the political comrade of Pritucki, spoke to-day on the question of military service for the Jews, and their readiness to sacrifice their fortune and their lives for Poland. His speech was so correct in matter and in form, that the Diet listened to it with satisfaction.

Two bills for the improvement of the condition of the farm-labourers and their relations towards the proprietors, preliminaries to the solution of the difficult and extensive agricultural problem, led to a lively discussion, illustrated by facts drawn from the life of the country. Besides the deputies: Woźnicki, Malinowski, and others, who in this discussion took sides for the Left, the Labour Minister Iwanowski presented himself as a distinguished State Socialist. He gave proofs that his ministry had made all preparations to bring this social question to a legal and administrative settlement: his statement was received with hearty applause.

All these problems, resolutions and bills were sent to the Committees; they will return after a week to be debated by the whole Diet.

A bill for the compulsory cultivation of waste land, as a means of increasing the food supply in the country, was read for the second and third time. The object of this law, the execution of which is confided to the Minister of Agriculture, is to lower the exorbitant prices of food, and thus to profit, not only such peasants as do not possess land, but also the inhabitants of towns.

To conclude, the Diet voted the obligatory administration of another estate of the Habsburgs in Galicia, a remnant of the Polish Crown lands. What had been stolen now comes back to its lawful possessor.

Sitting of the 11th of March. The first sitting of this week passed off very quietly. Only at the end, when the reading of new bills began, a little noise was here and there to be heard. After the speech of Deputy Adam, the Chamber passed the second and third reading of the bill to prevent Austrian, German and Russian money from being brought, for the time being, into the country.

Further discussions, for the present purely theoretical, but very instructive, were called forth by the proposal of the Deputies of the National Populist Union (Majewski, Harasz, and Gdyk), to hasten the committee work on the laws for insuring workmen in case of unemployment, illness and old age. These problems are manifold and complicated; and not even abroad have they been dealt with successfully.

The Labour Minister, Iwanowski, presented the plans and work of his ministry for the protection of labour. The members of the P. P. S. formulated the demands of their party. During this time the President of the Chamber was the late Prime Minister Moraczewski.

The necessity of forming commissions for towns, one of the most important in the Diet, was pointed out succinctly but with energy by Deputy Skulski from Łódź, who made a very pleasant impression.

A telegram from the Greek Government, recognizing Poland and expressing joy that the wrong done to it by its partitions, had been righted, was received by the Chamber with enthusiasm: also a similar telegram from the national Department of American Poles.

During the reading of further urgent bills, the Socialist Deputy from Zagłębie (Pużak) demanded that the excesses of the country gendarmes should be checked. Soon after, the Diet voted the urgency of revising and reorganising the Militia.

During the discussion of these two bills, the Chamber became noisier than usual. Order was presently restored, when the Deputy Skarbek appeared on the platform, and speaking energetically and to the point said that Lemberg would never surrender, but die of starvation. He demanded help, called on Posen to send relief troops, and also demanded the punishment of the guilty, through whom this tragedy had come to pass. The Chamber rose, having expressed sympathy for Lemberg.

In Committee. The Constituant Assembly's Committee has accepted the report of Deputy Niedziałkowski, concerning the 6 mandates of Cieszyn-Silesia, and designated him to report in the Diet.

On the proposal of Deputy Dr. Marek, the Committee resolved to appeal to the Government to create a civil administration in Białystock and to arrange for an election there. As reporter in the Diet on this matter, Dr. Kamiński has been chosen, and also directed to look into the Eastern election cases.

To day in the forenoon, the Financial Committee, together with the representatives of the banks of Warsaw, deliberated upon the bill concerning the decree of a compulsory Government loan. It is to be remarked that, in spite of false news, no serious objections were formulated against this bill by the bank representatives. Only the question of simplifying the process of stamping the banknotes was put forward.

The decree has every chance, and will be put on the order of the day at one of the next meetings of the Diet.

POLITICAL NEWS.

Danzig for Poland!

Attitude of former Russian Poland. In Warsaw there has been formed a committee to claim Danzig for Poland, with Mr. Bobrowski as president, and with such members as Alexander Jałowski, deputy Rząd and Grzymała Siedlecki. In Łódź there is a section of this committee, presided over by Mr. Świerczewski. These bodies prepared in support of this claim great manifestation meetings for Sunday, the 9th March, in 50 larger towns of former Russian Poland. In Warsaw the meeting took place on Sunday at 4 clock, with the participation of the members of the Diet and all classes of the population. The Warsaw newspapers issued Sunday numbers on Danzig. Extraordinary gatherings of Town-Hall officials took place on Sunday in Warsaw, Łódź, Częstochowa, Sosnowiec, Lublin, Chełm, Zamość, Krasnystaw, Radom, Opoczno, Sandomierz, Kielce, Miechów, Noworadomsk, Kalisz, Piotrków, Koło, Płock, Sieradz, Mława, Łomża, Pułtusk, Siedlce, Maków, Biała, Międzyrzecze, Garwolin, Włocławek, Kutno, Łowicz, Skierniewice and other towns.

In Cracow. Some days ago, there was a public meeting in the hall of the Gymnastic Society in Cracow on behalf of the annexation of Danzig to Poland. The meeting was extremely numerous. Rector Morawski, president of the Academy of Science, opened the meeting; Dr. Jurczyński was chosen as chairman. After the statement of Dr. Lulek and the speeches of prof. T. Grabowski, Dr. Raabe and prof. Sawicki, the following resolution was voted: "The inhabitants of Cracow, faithful in the triumph of those principles which the Coalition has inscribed on her standards, demand that the Baltic shore, together with Danzig, a Polish port from all time, but stolen by the Prussian robbers, should be given back to Poland".

In the Socialist Camp. The Socialist newspapers give the text of the following resolution:

"The Workmen's Council P. P. S. D. assembled on the 9th March 1919, expresses its full solidarity and fraternity with the workmen in Teschen-Silesia, heroically combating in defence of the Polish land and Polish natural treasures, against the treacherous invasion of the Czechs. The Council expresses its deep conviction that Poland, free and united, has the right to a sea-board of its own, and to the mouth of

the Polish Vistula; and that through the former our nation will be able to enter in line with all the other nations of the world, and have sovereign control over the development of the international trade and industry in Poland. The Council expresses its full confidence in the Society of the Polish Socialist Deputies in the Constituent Assembly in Warsaw.

The German attack on the Dąbrowa Coal-District.

The secretary read an urgent motion by the Deputies: Falkowski, Idziak and others, concerning the defence of the Dąbrowa Coal-District against the attacks of German troops. On Monday, the 10th March, a division of German soldiers passed the frontier near the mine "Saturn" in Czeladź, where they encountered a very small Polish division. The battle lasted about five hours; Polish soldiers were killed and wounded. The Germans clubbed the wounded Poles to death with their rifle-butts. This German attack was repulsed, but tidings have come that a greater German attack is planned, in order to occupy the Dąbrowa Coal-District. We must therefore appeal to the Commander-in-chief and the Minister of War, to take steps immediately for the security of the Dąbrowa Coal-District.

Sitting of the Diet, 11th of March).

Defeat of the general strike.

The National Federation of workmen against the strike. The National Federation of workmen has published a manifesto, which very energetically stigmatises the proposed general strike. The manifesto states that this strike is organised by Bolsheviks. Several extracts of it follow:

"Under pretext of protesting against the so-called persecutions of workmen by the Polish government, by the actual cabinet etc., the ringleaders of the strike aim at destroying the Diet and at proclaiming a Bolshevik dictatorship.

"The strike was to manifest the international Bolshevik solidarity, and is therefore proclaimed at this moment when the "Spartakus" revolution in Germany has broken out.

"Workmen!

"Shall we see with indifference the agents of our enemies throwing us into an abyss of misery, hunger and new slavery?

"Shall we approve by our silence the criminal Communistic intrigues paid for by millions of marks and roubles?"

A similar manifesto has been published by the "Kolejarz", an organ of the federation of railway-workmen.

The attitude of the Socialists. We read in the Socialist newspapers: The central committee of Polish Socialists refuse all participation in the strike proposed for the 12th and 13th inst. and invite their comrades not to stop their work.

In reference to this subject, we read also in the "Robotnik", the organ of this party:

The 10th of March there was a full session of the council of workmen's delegates which intended to discuss the question of the general strike proposed for Wednesday and Thursday. Comrade Niedziałkowski declares that the Polish Socialist Party gave its adherence to the strike a week ago, because it considered it necessary to protest against the abuses and violence of the police: however, a strike would not succeed just now, and might end with the collapse of the workmen's movement: in these circumstances, the Polish Socialist party revokes its adhesion to the strike, The representative of the Communists and of the Jews: Bund, Poale-Sion and Vereinigte, spoke violently in favour of the strike. The speaker of the Polish Trades' Union spoke against it. Several representatives of factories and industrial groups took a share in the debate, and for the most part declared that, considering the present frame of mind of the workmen, a strike would be aimless and irrational. Towards the end of the session the discussion was a hot one. When the comrade Niedziałkowski declared in a final allocution that the Polish Socialist Party strikes when it finds it reasonable, not when it pleases the Communists and the "Bund", there arose an indescribable uproar. Finally, the hall was left by the Polish Socialists, who sang the "Red Banner", and the Communists, together with the "Bund" and Poale-Sion, voted for the strike.

The Railway Workmen. The administration of the Society of Railway-Workmen wire to all the branches of the Society as follows:

11th of March 1919. Nr. 380. Urgent.

To all the branches of the Society of Railway-Workmen in the Polish Republic. To all Railway-Directors, and a copy to the President of the Ministers, the Minister of Communications, the General Staff of the Polish Army. As to the intended proclamation of a general demonstrative strike on the 12th and 13th inst. the Executive Committee of the Society has come to the conviction, that in view of the necessity of provisions and the difficulties in the recent situation of the country, any interruption in

the train service is inadmissible, and it appeals to the Railway-Workmen to continue the regular service in the trains. The president of the Society, Kruczewski; — the general secretary, Kaczanowski.

In Warsaw. The Committee of the union of train officials in Warsaw sent the following communiqué to the newspapers:

“Considering that a general strike during the conflicts at our frontiers would harm our country, increase the price of victuals, and might have sad consequences, the professional union of Tramway-men in Warsaw is against the strike”.

Results. — *Lublin*, the 15th of March. Yesterday at noon there was a manifestation of workmen on account of the general strike, proclaimed by members of the Jewish “Bund” and the Socialist Party. The Jewish Communists were in majority. During the manifestation a part of the Polish workmen left the procession. The manifesters tried to force the dealers to close their shops, but did not succeed. There were no other incidents.

Łódź, the 13th of March. The announced general strike did not take place. Work went on all yesterday and to-day. The shops are open. The circulation is as usual. Everywhere order and calm prevails.

Sosnowiec, the 13th of March. In all mines and industrial establishments work goes on to day under normal conditions.

(Telegrams of the Polish Telegraphic Agency.)

The Editors are much pleased to have the present occasion of expressing their gratitude to the ladies who have aided them in translating, as well as to all those whose kind and friendly assistance has rendered possible the successful publication of this paper. Without such devoted collaboration, this first number of our “Allied Poland” could never have been published in English. In Cracow, and under present circumstances, the undertaking has been one of most extraordinary difficulty.

